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ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—VI.

BY H. G. WELLS.

VIII. THE LARGER SYNTHESIS.

WE have seen that the essential process arising out of the growth of science and mechanism and more particularly out of the still developing new facilities of locomotion and communication which science has afforded is the deliquescence of the social organizations of the past and the synthesis of ampler and still ampler and more complicated and still more complicated social unities. The suggestion is powerful, the conclusion is hard to resist, that, through whatever disorders of danger and conflict, whatever centuries of misunderstanding and bloodshed, men may still have to pass, this process, nevertheless, aims at and will finally attain to the establishment of one world state at peace within itself. In the economic sense indeed a world state is already established. Even to-day we do all buy and sell in the same markets—albeit the owners of certain ancient rights levy their tolls here and there—and the Hindoo starves, the Italian feels the pinch, before the Germans or the English go short of bread. There is no real autonomy any more in the world, no simple right to an absolute independence such as formerly the Swiss could claim. The nations and boundaries of to-day do no more than mark claims to exemptions, privileges and corners in the market—claims valid enough to those whose minds and souls are turned towards the past, but absurdities to those who look to the future as the end and justification of our present stresses. The claim to political liberty amounts, as a rule, to no more than the claim of a man to live in a parish without observing sanitary precautions or paying rates—because he had an excellent great-grandfather. Against all these old isolations,

these obsolescent particularisms, the forces of mechanical and scientific development fight and fight irresistibly; and upon the general recognition of this conflict, upon the intelligence and courage with which its inflexible conditions are negotiated, depends very largely the amount of bloodshed and avoidable misery the coming years will hold.

The final attainment of this great synthesis, like the social delinquency and reconstruction dealt with in the earlier of these Anticipations, has an air of being a process independent of any collective or conscious will in man, as being the expression of a greater Will; it is working now and may work out to its end vastly, and yet at times almost imperceptibly, as some huge secular movement in Nature goes on to its culmination.

Already the need of some synthesis at least ampler than existing national organizations is so apparent in the world that at least five spacious movements of coalescence exist to-day; there is the movement called Anglo-Saxonism, the allied but finally very different movement of British Imperialism, the Pan Germanic movement, Pan Slavism and the conception of a great union of the "Latin" peoples. Under the outrageous treatment of the white peoples an idea of unifying the "Yellow" peoples is pretty certain to become audibly and visibly operative before many years. These are all deliberate and justifiable suggestions and they all aim at sacrificing minor differences in order to link like to like in greater matters, and so secure, if not physical predominance in the world, at least an effective defensive strength for their racial, moral, customary or linguistic differences against the aggressions of other possible coalescences. But these syntheses or other similar synthetic conceptions, if they do not contrive to establish a rational social unity by sanely negotiated unions, will be forced to fight for physical predominance in the world. The whole trend of forces in the world is against the preservation of *local* social systems however greatly and spaciouly conceived. Yet it is quite possible that several or all of the cultures that will arise out of the development of these Pan this-and-that movements, may in many of their features survive, as the culture of the Jews has survived, political obliteration, and may disseminate themselves, as the Jewish system has disseminated itself, over the whole world city.

It is doubtful if either the Latin or the Pan Slavic idea

contains the promise of any great political unification. The elements of the Latin synthesis are dispersed in South and Central America and about the Mediterranean basin in a way that offers no prospect of an economic unity between them. The best elements of the French people lie in the Western portion of what must become the greatest urban region of the Old World, the Rhine-Netherlandish region; the interests of North Italy draw that region away from the Italy of Rome and the South towards the Swiss and South Germany, and the Spanish and Portuguese speaking half-breeds of South America have not only their own coalescences to arrange, but they lie already under the political tutelage of the United States. Nowhere except in France and North Italy is there any prospect of such an intellectual and educational evolution as is necessary before a great scheme of unification can begin to take effect. And the difficulties in the way of the Pan Slavic dream are far graver. Its realization is enormously hampered by the division of its languages, and the fact that in the Bohemian language, in Polish and in Russian there exist distinct literatures, almost equally splendid in achievement but equally insufficient in quantity and range to establish a claim to replace all other Slavonic dialects. Russia, which should form the central mass of this synthesis, stagnates, relatively to the Western states, under the rule of reactionary intelligences; it does not develop and does not seem likely to develop the merest beginnings of that great educated middle class with which the future so enormously rests. The Russia of to-day is indeed very little more than a vast breeding ground for an illiterate peasantry and the forecasts of its future greatness entirely ignore that dwindling significance of mere numbers in warfare which is the clear and necessary consequence of mechanical advance. To a large extent, I believe, the Western Slavs will follow the Prussians and Lithuanians and be incorporated in the urbanization of Western Europe, and the remoter portions of Russia seem destined to become—are indeed becoming—Abyss, a wretched and disorderly Abyss that will not even be formidable to the armed and disciplined peoples of the civilization of the new era.

The chances seem altogether against the existence of a great Slavonic power in the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century. They seem at the first glance to lie just as

heavily in favor of an aggressive Pan Germanic power struggling towards a great and commanding position athwart central Europe and western Asia, and turning itself at last upon the defeated Slavonic disorder. There can be no doubt that at present the Germans have the most efficient middle class in the world, their rapid economic progress is to a very large extent indeed a triumph of intelligence, and their political and probably their military and naval services are still conducted with a capacity and breadth of view that find no parallel in the world. But the very efficiency of the German as a German to-day and the habits and traditions of victory he has accumulated for nearly forty years may prove in the end a very doubtful blessing to Europe as a whole or even to his own grandchildren. Geographical contours, economic forces, the trend of invention and social development point to a unification of all western Europe, but they certainly do not point to its Germanization. I have already given reasons for anticipating that the French language may not only hold its own, but prevail against German in western Europe. And there are certain other obstacles in the way even of the union of indisputable Germans. One element in German's present efficiency must become more and more of an encumbrance as the years pass. The Germanic idea is deeply interwoven with the traditional Empire and with the martinet methods of the Prussian monarchy. The intellectual development of the Germans is defined to a very large extent by a court directed officialdom. In many things that court is still inspired by the noble traditions of education and discipline that come from the days of German adversity, and the predominance of the Imperial will does no doubt give a unity of purpose to German policy and action that adds greatly to its efficacy. But for a capable ruler even more than for a radiantly stupid monarch the price a nation must finally pay is heavy. Most energetic and capable people are a little intolerant of unsympathetic capacity, are apt on the under side of their egotism to be jealous, assertive and aggressive. In the present Empire of Germany there are no other great figures to balance the Imperial personage, and I do not see how other great figures are likely to arise. A great number of fine and capable persons must be failing to develop, failing to tell, under the shadow of this too prepotent monarchy. There are certain limiting restrictions imposed upon Germans through the Im-

perial activity that must finally be bad for the intellectual atmosphere which is Germany's ultimate strength.

After all, I do not see that she is in a greatly stronger position than was France in the early sixties; and indeed in many respects, and allowing for the higher standards of efficiency of this present time, her present predominance is curiously analogous to that of the French Empire in those years. Death at any time may end the career of the present ruler of Germany—there is no certain insurance of one single life. This withdrawal would leave Germany organized entirely with reference to a court; and there is no trustworthy guarantee that the succeeding Royal Personality may not be something infinitely more vain and aggressive, or something weakly self-indulgent or unpatriotic and morally indifferent.

In another way the intensely monarchical and aristocratic organization of the German Empire will stand in the way of the political synthesis of greater Germany. Necessary factors in that synthesis will be Holland and Switzerland, little, advantageously situated peoples, saturated with ideas of personal freedom. One can imagine a German Swiss at any rate gladly merging himself in a great Pan-Germanic republican state, but to bow the knee to the luridly decorated God of His Imperial Majesty's Fathers will be an altogether more difficult exploit for self-respecting man.

Moreover, before Germany can unify to the East she must fight the Russian, and to unify to the West she must fight the French and perhaps the English, and she may have to fight a combination of these powers. I think the military strength of France is enormously underrated. Upon this matter M. Bloch—that alleged Angel of Peace—should be read. Indisputably the French were beaten in 1870, indisputably they have fallen behind in their long struggle to attain equality with the English on the sea, but neither of these things effaces the future of the French. The disasters of 1870 were probably of the utmost benefit to the altogether too sanguine French imagination. They cleared the French minds of the delusion that personal Imperialism is the way to do the desirable thing, a delusion the Germans (and, it would seem, a few queer Englishmen and still queerer Americans) entertain. The French have done much to demonstrate the possibility of a stable military republic. They

have disposed of crown and court and held themselves in order for thirty good years, they have dissociated their national life from any form of religious profession, they have contrived a freedom of thought and writing that in spite of much conceit to the contrary is quite impossible among the English-speaking peoples. I find no reason to doubt the implication of M. Bloch that on land to-day the French are relatively far stronger than they were in 1870, that the evolution of military expedients has been all in favor of the French character and intelligence, and that even a single-handed war between France and Germany to-day might have a very different issue from that former struggle. In such a conflict it will be Germany now and not France that will have pawned her strength to the English-speaking peoples on the high seas. And France will not fight alone. She will fight for Switzerland or Luxembourg or the mouth of the Rhine. She will fight with the gravity of remembered humiliations, with the whole awakened Slav race at the back of her antagonist and very probably with the support of the English-speaking peoples.

It must be pointed out how strong seems the tendency of the German Empire to repeat the history of Holland upon a larger scale. While the Dutch poured out all their strength upon the seas, in a conflict with the English that at the utmost could give them only trade, they let the possibilities of a great Low German synthesis pass utterly out of being. (In those days Low Germany stretched to Arras and Douay.) They positively dragged the English into the number of their enemies. And to-day the Germans invade the sea with a threat and intention that will certainly create a countervailing American navy, fundamentally modify the policy of Great Britain, such as it is, and very possibly go far to effect the synthesis of the English-speaking peoples.

So involved, I do not see that the existing Germanic synthesis is likely to prevail in the close economic unity, the urban region that will arise in western Europe. I imagine that the German Empire that is the organized expression of German aggression to-day will be either shattered or weakened to the pitch of great compromises by a series of wars by land and sea, it will be forced to develop the autonomy of its rational middle class in the struggles that will render these compromises possible, and it will be

finally not Imperial German ideas, but central European ideas possibly more akin to Swiss conceptions, a civilized republicanism finding its clearest expression in the French language, that will be established upon a bilingual basis throughout western Europe and increasingly predominant over the whole European mainland and the Mediterranean basin, as the twentieth century closes.

And while the great states of the continent of Europe are hammering down their obstructions of language and national tradition or raising the educational level above them until a working unity is possible, will there also be a great synthesis of the English-speaking peoples going on? I am inclined to believe that there will be such a synthesis and that the head and centre of the new unity will be the great urban region that is developing between Chicago and the Atlantic, and which will lie mainly but not entirely south of the St. Lawrence. Inevitably, I think, that region must become the intellectual, political and industrial centre of any permanent unification of the English-speaking states. There will, I believe, develop about that centre a great federation of white English-speaking peoples, a federation having America north of Mexico as its central mass, a federation that may conceivably include Scandinavia, and its federal government will sustain a common fleet and protect or dominate or actually administer most or all of the non-white states of the present British Empire, and in addition much of the south and middle Pacific, the East and West Indies, the rest of America, and the larger part of black Africa. Quite apart from the dominated races, such an English-speaking state should have by the century-end a practically homogeneous citizenship of at least a hundred million sound-bodied, educated and capable *men*. It should be the first of the three powers of the world, and it should face the organizing syntheses of Europe and eastern Asia with an intelligent sympathy. By the year 2000 all its common citizens should certainly be in touch with the thought of continental Europe through the medium of French, its English language should be already rooting firmly through all the world beyond its confines, and its statesmanship should be preparing openly and surely, and discussing calmly with the public mind of the European and probably of the Yellow state, the possible coalescences and conventions, the obliteration of custom houses,

the homologization of laws and coinage and measures and the mitigation of monopolies and special claims, by which the final peace of the world may be assured forever. Such a synthesis at any rate of the peoples now using the English tongue I regard not only as a possible but as a probable thing.

Now, the more one descends from the open uplands of wide generalization to the parallel jungle of particulars the more dangerous does the road of prophesying become, yet nevertheless there may be some possibility of speculating how in the case of the English-speaking synthesis at least this effective New Republic may begin visibly to shape itself out and appear. It will appear first, I believe, as a conscious organization of intelligent and quite possibly in some cases wealthy men, as a movement having distinct social and political aims, confessedly ignoring most of the existing apparatus of political control or using it only as an incidental implement, in the attainment of these aims. It will be very loosely organized in its earlier stages, a mere movement of a number of people in a certain direction, who will presently discover with a sort of surprise the common object towards which they are all moving.

Already there are some interesting aspects of public activity that, diverse though their aims may seem, do nevertheless serve to show the possible line of the development of this New Republic in the coming time. For example, as a sort of preliminary sigh before the stirring of a larger movement there are various Anglo-American movements and leagues to be noted. Associations for entertaining travelling samples of the American leisure class in guaranteed English country houses, for bringing them into momentary physical contact with real titled persons at lunches and dinners, and for having them collectively lectured by respectable English authors and divines, are no doubt trivial things enough, but a snob sometimes shows how the wind blows better than a serious man. The Empire may catch the American as the soldier caught the Tartar. There is something very much more spacious than such things as this, latent in both the British and the American mind and observable, for instance, in the altered tone of the presses of both countries since the Venezuela Message and the Spanish-American war. Certain projects of a much ampler sort have already been put forward. An interesting proposal of an interchangeable citizenship, so that with

a change of domicile an Englishman should have the chance of becoming a citizen of the United States and an American a British citizen or a voter in an autonomous British colony, for example, has been made. Such schemes will no doubt become frequent and will afford much scope for discussion in both countries during the next decade or so.* The American Constitution and the British crown and constitution will have to be modified or shelved at some stage in this synthesis, and for certain types of intelligence there could be no more attractive problem. Certain curious changes in the colonial point of view will occur as these discussions open out. The United States of America are rapidly taking, or have already taken, the ascendancy in the iron and steel and electrical industries out of the hands of the British, they are developing a far ampler and more thorough system of higher scientific education than the British, and the spirit of efficiency percolating from their more efficient businesses is probably higher in their public services. These things render the transfer of the present mercantile and naval ascendancy of Great Britain to the United States during the next two or three decades a very probable thing, and when this is accomplished the problem how far Colonial loyalty is the fruit of Royal Visits and sporadic knighthood and how far it has relation to the existence of a predominant fleet, will be near its solution. An interesting point about such discussion as this, in which, indeed, in all probability the nascent consciousness of the New Republic will emerge, will be the solution which this larger synthesis will offer to certain miserable difficulties of the present time. Government by the elect of the first families of Great Britain has in the last hundred years made Ireland and South Africa two open sores of irreconcilable wrong. These two English-speaking communities will never emerge from wretchedness under the vacillating, vote-catching incapacity of British Imperialism, and it is impossible that the British power having embittered them should ever dare to set them free. But within such an ampler synthesis as the New Republic will seek, these states could emerge to an equal fellowship that would take all the bitterness from their unforgettable past.

*I foresee great scope for the ingenious persons who write so abundantly to the London evening papers upon etymological points, issues in heraldry and the correct Union Jack, in the very pleasing topic of a possible **Anglo-American flag** (for use on symbolical occasions).

Another type of public activity which foreshadows an aspect under which the New Republic will emerge is to be found in the unofficial organizations that have come into existence in Great Britain to watch and criticise various public departments. There is, for example, the Navy League, a body of intelligent and active persons with a distinctly expert qualification which has intervened very effectively in naval control during the last few years. There is also at present a vast amount of disorganized but quite intelligent discontent with the tawdry futilities of army reform that occupy the War Office. It becomes apparent that there is no hope of a fully efficient and well equipped official army under parliamentary government, and with that realization there will naturally appear a disposition to seek some way to military efficiency, as far as is legally possible, outside War Office control. Already recruiting is falling off; it will probably fall off more and more as the patriotic emotions evoked by the Boer war fade away, and no trivial addition to pay or privilege will restore it. Elementary education has at least raised the intelligence of the British lower classes to a point where the prospect of fighting in distant lands under unsuitably educated British officers of means and gentility, with a defective War Office equipment and inferior weapons, has lost much of its romantic glamour. But an unofficial body that set itself to the establishment of a school of military science,* to the sane organization and criticism of military experiments in tactics and equipment, and the raising for experimental purposes of volunteer companies and battalions, would find no lack of men. * * * What an unofficial syndicate of capable persons of the new sort may do in these matters has been shown in the case of the *Turbinia*, the germ of an absolute revolution in naval construction.

Such attempts at unofficial soldiering would be entirely in the spirit in which I believe the New Republic will emerge, but it is in another line of activity that the growing new consciousness will presently be much more distinctly apparent. It is increasingly evident that to organize and control public education is beyond the power of a democratic government. The meanly equipped and pretentiously conducted private schools of Great Britain, staffed with ignorant and incapable young men, exist on the other hand, to witness that public education is no matter

*With a chair for Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, for example.

to be left to merely commercial enterprise working upon parental ignorance and social prejudice. The necessary condition to the effective development of the New Republic is a universally accessible, spacious and varied educational system working in an atmosphere of efficient criticism and general intellectual activity. Schools alone are of no avail, universities are merely dens of the higher cramming, unless the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses and lecturers are in touch with and under the light of an abundant, contemporary and fully adult intellectuality. At present, in Great Britain at least, the headmasters entrusted with the education of the bulk of the influential men of the next decades are conspicuously second rate men, forced and etiolated creatures, scholarship boys manured with annotated editions and brought up under and protected from all current illumination by the kalepot of the Thirty-nine Articles. Many of them are less capable teachers and even less intelligent men than many board school teachers. There is, however, urgent need of an absolutely new type of school, a school that shall be at least so skilfully conducted as to supply the necessary training in mathematics and languages, in drawing and science, without either consuming all the leisure of the boy or destroying his individuality, as it is destroyed by the pretentious blunderers of to-day; and there is an equally manifest need of a new type of university, something other than a happy fastness for those precociously brilliant creatures—creatures whose brilliance is too often the hectic indication of a constitutional unsoundness of mind—who can “get in” before the portcullis of the nineteenth birthday falls. These new educational elements may either grow slowly through the steady and painful pressure of remorseless facts, or, as the effort to evoke the New Republic becomes more conscious and deliberate, they may be rapidly brought into being by the conscious endeavors of capable men. Assuredly they will never be developed by the wisdom of the government of the gray. It may be pointed out that in an individual and disorganized way something in this direction is already being done. Such great business managers as Mr. Andrew Carnegie, for example, and many other of the wealthy efficient of the United States of America are displaying a strong disinclination to found families of functionless shareholders and a strong disposition to contribute by means of colleges, libraries and splendid foundations to the future

of the whole English-speaking world. Indisputably these men are doing a fundamentally important work in these endowments, and as indisputably many of their successors—I do not mean the heirs to their private wealth, but the men of the same type who will play their *rôle* in the coming years—will carry on this spacious work with a wider prospect and a clearer common understanding.

The establishment of modern and efficient schools is alone not sufficient for the intellectual needs of the coming time. The school and university are merely the preparation for the life of mental activity in which the citizen of the coming state will live. The three years of university and a lifetime of stagnation which constitutes the mind's history of many a public schoolmaster for example to-day will be impossible under the new needs. The old-fashioned university, secure in its omniscience, merely taught; the university of the coming time will as its larger function criticise and learn. It will be organized for research, for the criticism, that is, of thought and nature. And a subtler and a greater task before those who will presently swear allegiance to the New Republic is to aid and stimulate that process of sound adult mental activity which is the cardinal element in human life. After all, in spite of the pretentious impostors who trade upon the claim, literature—contemporary literature—is the breath of civilized life, and those who sincerely think and write the salt of the social body. To mumble over the past, to live on the classics, however splendid, is senility. The New Republic will sustain its authors. In the past the author lived within the limits of his patron's susceptibility, and led the world, so far as he did lead it, from that cage. In the present he lives within the limits of a particularly distressful and ill-managed market. He must please and interest the public before he may reason with it, and even to reach the public ear involves other assiduities than writing. To write one's best is surely sufficient work for a man, but unless the author is prepared to add to his literary toil the correspondence and alert activity of a business man, he may find that no measure of acceptance will save him from a mysterious poverty. Publishing has become a trade, differing only from the trade in pork or butter, in the tradesman's careless book-keeping and his professed indifference to the quality of his goods. But, unless the whole mass of argument in these Anticipations is false,

publishing is as much or even more of a public concern than education and as little to be properly discharged by private men working for profit. On the other hand, it is not to be undertaken by a government of the gray, for a confusion cannot undertake to clarify itself. It is an activity in which the New Republic will necessarily engage.

The men of the New Republic will be intelligently critical men and they will have the courage of their critical conclusions. For the sake of the English tongue, for the sake of the English peoples, they will set themselves to put temptingly within the reach of all readers of the tongue and all possible readers of the tongue, an abundance of living literature. They will endeavor to shape the great publishing trusts and associations that will have the same relations to the publishing offices of to-day that a medical association has to a patent medicine dealer. They will not only publish, but sell; their efficient book shops, their efficient system of book distribution will replace the present haphazard dealings of quite illiterate persons under whose shadows people in the provinces live to-day.* If one of these publishing groups decides that a book, new or old, is of value to the public mind, I conceive the copyright will be secured and the book produced all over the world in every variety of form and price that seems necessary to its exhaustive sale. Moreover, these publishing associations will sustain spaciouly conceived organs of opinion and criticism, which will begin by being patiently and persistently good and so develop into power. And the more distinctly the New Republic emerges, the less danger there will be of these associations being allowed to outlive their service in a state of ossified authority. New groups of men and new phases of thought will organize their publishing associations as children learn to talk.

And while the New Republic is thus developing its idea of itself and organizing its mind, it will also be growing out of the confused and intricate businesses and undertakings and public

*In a large town like Folkestone, for example, it is practically impossible to buy any book but a current novel unless one has ascertained the names of the author, the book, the edition, and the publisher. There is no index in existence kept up to date that supplies these particulars. If, for example, one wants—as I want—(1) to read all that I have not read of the works of Mr. Frank Stockton; (2) to read a book of essays by Professor Ray Lankester, whose title I have forgotten; and (3) to buy the most convenient edition of the works of Swift, one has to continue wanting until the British Museum Library chances to get in one's way. The book-selling trade supplies no remedy.

services of the present time, into a recognizable material body. The synthetic process that is going on in the case of many of the larger businesses of the world, that formation of Trusts that bulks so large in American discussion, is of the utmost significance in this connection. Conceivably the first impulse to form Trusts came from a mere desire to control competition and economize working expenses, but even in its very first stages this process of coalescence has passed out of the region of commercial operations into that of public affairs. The Trust develops into the organization under men more capable than any sort of public officials, of entire industries, of entire departments of public life, quite outside the ostensible democratic government system altogether. The whole apparatus of communications, which we have seen to be of such primary importance in the making of the future, promises to pass, in the case of the United States at least, out of the region of scramble into the domain of deliberate control. The American iron and steel industries have been drawn together and developed in a manner that is a necessary preliminary to the capture of the empire of the seas. These things are not the work of dividend hunting imbeciles, but of men who regard wealth as a convention, as a means to spacious material ends. There is an animated little paper published in Los Angeles in the interests of Mr. Wilshire which bears upon its forefront the maxim, "Let the Nation own the Trusts." Well, under their mantle of property, the Trusts grow into continually more elaborate and efficient machines of production and public service and the formal Nation chooses its Bosses and reads its illustrated press. I must confess I do not see the negro and the poor Irishman and all the emigrant sweepings of Europe, which constitute the American Abyss, uniting to form that great Socialist party that with a little demonstrating and balloting will presently take over the foundry and the electrical works, the engine shed and the signal box, from the capable men in charge. But that a confluent system of Trust-owned business and of universities and reorganized military and naval services, may presently discover an essential unity of purpose, presently begin thinking a literature and behaving like a State, is a much more possible thing. . . .

So it is, or at least in some such ways, that I conceive the growing sense of itself which the new class of modern efficient will develop, will become manifest, here and there, in movements

and concerns that are now heterogeneous and distinct, but will presently drift to co-operation and coalescence. This idea of a synthetic reconstruction within the bodies of the English-speaking states may very possibly clothe itself in quite other formulæ than my phrase of the New Republic, but the need is with us, the social elements are developing among us, the appliances are arranging themselves for the hands that will use them, and I cannot but believe that the idea of a spacious common action will presently come. In a few years I believe many men who are now rather aimless, men who have disconsolately watched the collapse of the old Liberalism, will be clearly telling themselves and one another of their adhesion to this new ideal. They will be working in schools and newspaper offices, in foundry and factory, in colleges and laboratories, in county councils and on school boards—even, it may be, in pulpits—for the time when the coming of the New Republic will be ripe. It may even be dawning in the schools of law—because presently there will be a new and scientific handling of jurisprudence. The highly educated and efficient officers' mess will rise mechanically and drink to the Monarch and sit down to go on discussing the New Republic's growth. I do not see, indeed, why an intelligent Monarch, in these days, should not waive his Divine Right and come into the movement with these others. When the growing conception touches, as in America it has already touched, the legacy leaving class, there will be fewer new Asylums, perhaps, but more university chairs. . . . So it is I conceive the elements of the New Republic taking shape and running together through the social mass, picking themselves out more and more clearly, from the shareholder, the parasitic speculator and the wretched multitudes of the Abyss. The New Republicans will constitute an informal and open free-masonry. In all sorts of ways they will be influencing and controlling the apparatus of the ostensible governments; they will be pruning irresponsible property, checking speculators and controlling the abyssward drift; but at that, at an indirect control, at any sort of fiction the New Republic, from the very nature of its cardinal ideas, will not rest. There will be a time, in peace or under stresses of warfare, when the theory will have been worked out and the details will be ready and accepted and the new order will be ready to begin. And then, indeed, it will begin.

H. G. WELLS.